

## A PERSIANIZING CUP FROM LYDIA

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‘What is it’ he asked, ‘that all those men of yours are so intent upon doing?’  
‘They are plundering your city and carrying off your treasures.’  
‘Not my city or my treasures’ Croesus answered. ‘Nothing there any longer  
belongs to me. It is you they are robbing.’

Herodotus I.87 (trans. A. de Sélincourt)

*Summary. The kantharoid-cup examined here may serve as an exemplar of the various currents which are evident in the pottery producing traditions of archaic Lydia. Although our knowledge of Lydian pottery is still in great need of enrichment features derived from other regions are apparent in finds made in the Sardis area, and beyond. The kantharoid cup is clearly decorated in a manner firmly anchored in archaic Lydian practice, but ultimately derived from an East Greek source. Its shape, however, is borrowed from eastern traditions, specially — as realia and iconographic representations show — from the Achaemenid repertoire. It is in this context, as an item of emulation of élite practice, that the adoption of this particular shape in Lydia is best understood.*

### INTRODUCTION

The comments that Herodotus has Croesus make to Cyrus on the conduct of the latter’s troops after the fall of Sardis cap the historian’s account of the Persian conquest of Lydia. In a lengthy narrative Cyrus and Croesus reach a stalemate on the battlefield at Pteria, Cyrus unexpectedly follows Croesus to Sardis, and after a second battle and a siege takes the Lydian capital. Finally Croesus is dramatically saved from a fiery death on the pyre that Cyrus intended for him. Upon his rescue, and in a state of reflection, Croesus volunteers his assessment of the situation given in the quotation, and thereafter Cyrus — for the first time — asks for the advice of his defeated adversary. There is little doubt that this passage in which Croesus frankly admits that he has lost his city was written by Herodotus in order both to emphasise the historical nature of the Persian advent and the new relationship of his two protagonists, and to seal the account of the fall of the Lydian Empire on a dramatic note. What was once Croesus’ is now Cyrus’, on the admission of the Lydian himself.

The passage introduces the major concern of this paper for it clearly heralds the arrival of the Persian Empire in western Anatolia, and it is the impact of an Iranian-derived form on Lydian potters that is at the centre of the discussion that follows. Of primary interest is a cup,

the examination of which will shed some light on the influences that played upon the potters of sixth-century Lydia. I shall argue, though always keeping in mind that our knowledge of earlier Lydian pottery traditions is very limited, that the cup clearly illustrates the adoption in Lydia of a shape that, by the sixth century, had a long history in Iranian lands. Conversely, it will also be argued that the origins of the decoration of the vessel ultimately lie in the East Greek sphere. The cup may stand as an exemplar of sixth-century Lydian material culture, which — as it is currently known to us — is characterised by a notable capability to absorb and naturalise foreign-derived elements into a new whole. The East Greek contribution to the crafts of Lydia has long been recognised, and it has been considered to be an important component in the cultural milieu of Sardis, though currents from lands well to the east of Lydia are also apparent. The cup examined here belongs in this context, and very clearly documents the reception of an Iranian form in sixth-century Lydia.

### THE CUP

#### *Description*

The two-handled drinking vessel, Figure 1 (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard, Accession Number 1966.87), has been reconstructed from a small number of pieces. It is preserved whole with the exception of a few minor chips. Nothing is known of the circumstances of its discovery. Its description follows.<sup>1</sup>

Height (handles included) 0.135 m.

Diameter (mouth) 0.10 m.

Diameter (foot) 0.04 m.

Thin-walled. Very fine clay. Reddish-sepia glaze. White paint.

Approximately biconical lower body, topped by a tall upper body in the form of a flaring cylinder with a plain rim. Recessed underside. The cup is equipped with two handles, approximately circular in section, that bow out from the body. The lower attachments are at the level where the lower body curves inwards. The handles meet the rim, each then curls over into an outward-facing volute.

Completely glazed on its interior, as is the exterior except for a low reserved zone above the base, resting surface and the undersurface. An irregular vertical zone on each of the handle surfaces facing the body is also reserved.

Series of painted dots just below the junction of the upper and lower body. Each lower handle attachment also encircled by a similar series of dots. A vertical column of dots runs down the spine of each handle. On either side of the lower body, by each handle attachment, there is a single dot encircled by a series of dots.

#### *Decoration*

The colour of the glaze is not the black which is usually associated with many Greek fine wares of the archaic and classical periods, but reddish-sepia. This is a feature well

<sup>1</sup> I have very briefly examined this vessel (April 1994). I thank Dr Aaron Paul for supplying me with its dimensions, and for the other help he offered me. I use the term glaze to refer to a sintered gloss and not a true glaze, see further Kingery 1991, 47–48. A description of the cup has recently been published by Yalouris 1997, 70–71, where its connection to ‘examples from Persepolis and a variety of sites in Anatolia’ is noted.



Figure 1

Harvard, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1966.87, Gift of Mr and Mrs Norbert Schimmel. (Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum.)

documented on Lydian pottery of the archaic period; the glaze could range in colour from black to red-yellow, and was applied either in streaky or evenly, as on this cup.<sup>2</sup>

The minimal decorative scheme corroborates its Lydian origins. The use of minor motifs in white paint in series to decorate black, red- or sepia-glazed vessels is well documented by finds — most of which in a Greek context would surely be identified as

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2 Evenly: Oliver 1968, 199 (New York MMA 14.30.11). Streakily: Greenewalt 1978a, 15–16. For both techniques on the same vessel: *ibid.* 56 cd 1–2.6, p. 64 cd 13.3, p. 68 cd 17.3, p. 70 cd 20.3–20.4, p. 76 cd 26.3. See further Greenewalt 1968, 141 n. 5.

symposium vessels — made in the sixth-century cemeteries in the vicinity of Sardis.<sup>3</sup> One such find, a ‘feeder’, nicely parallels Harvard 1966.87 in one particular detail: as the cup’s lower handle attachments are encircled by dots, so is that of the feeder as well as the base of its spout.<sup>4</sup> The dot rosettes which are the most prominent element in the decorative scheme of Harvard 1966.87 are also paralleled on red-glazed Lydian ceramics, and the origins of the motif can be clearly traced to a strong East Greek tradition.<sup>5</sup> The Lydian credentials of this cup are firm.

### Shape

Up to this point Harvard 1966.87 has been referred to by the very general term of ‘cup’. This, in part, is due to the conviction that its lip form and size make it suitable to serve as a drinking vessel. However, it must also be admitted that a succinct and precise term — at least one within the scope of Greek pottery studies — to describe it is not readily at hand. Despite the dependence of its minimal decorative scheme on East Greek traditions, the Greek ceramic corpus does not supply any parallels for the specific form. In the East Greek sphere simply decorated cups equipped with two vertical strap handles that rise slightly above the level of the rim are known from sixth-century Chian workshops. Similar pieces are also known from the Samian Heraeum, where the earliest examples have been dated to a period that begins as early as *c.*730 and ends *c.*670.<sup>6</sup> They usually have a flat, or sometimes disc, base, and the lower body wall often flares outwards more sharply than does the upper wall from which it is slightly offset. However, the lower body does not form a biconical bowl as it does on Harvard 1966.87. The lower handle attachments of these vessels are at the height of the slight offset. Similar cups were also manufactured in East Greek colonies of the Black Sea region, where their development has been traced down to the fourth century.<sup>7</sup> Very similar one-handle versions of this cup form have been found at the Samian Heraeum in contexts dated as early as the late-eighth/early-seventh-century, and on Chios.<sup>8</sup>

Slender versions of the two-handled variety of the shape are known from Chios; these date no earlier than the late sixth century and continue into the fifth. While these vessels are far closer to Harvard 1966.87 than any Greek shape considered so far, they do not directly parallel it. Their handles are of the same form as those of their broader sixth-century predecessors, and their lower body does not approach the bowl-shape seen on our cup. They are decorated in a simpler fashion — the exterior may be reserved or partly painted solid, while the interior is

3 E.g. Butler 1922, ills. 75A, 124–125, 168. For detailed discussion: Paspalas 1999.

4 Oliver 1968, 199.

5 Paspalas 1999.

6 Chian: Boardman 1967, 161–162 nos. 763–766 fig. 109, pl. 60; Williams 1983, 169 (p. 183 for date); Lemos 1991, 84–85. For representations (*c.*580–550): *ibid.* 84, 277 no. 742, pl. 98. Heraeum: Walter 1957, 40 Beil. 52, 1; Walter and Vierendeel 1959, 13, Beil. 14, 4 (Brunnen F). For black-figure Chian examples (second half of the sixth century): Boardman 1967, 168 nos. 838–841 fig. 116, pl. 63; Lemos 1991, 175–177 and 190.

7 Zaitseva 1972; Zaitseva 1984, esp. pl. 6.

8 Walter 1957, 40, Beil. 51, 1 and 4. Earlier versions: Walter and Vierendeel 1959, 12 Beil. 12, 1–2 (ninth-eighth century context). The offset between the two body parts on later versions is not always as sharp, and they are often equipped with a more outturned rim: Furtwängler and Kienast 1989, 86–89 fig. 14; Isler and Kalpaxis 1978, 97–98 nos. 153–156, pl. 50, Beil. 3 and 160–162 nos. 608–625, pl. 72, Beil. 20–21. Chian: Boardman 1967, 128 nos. 353 and 360 fig. 77, pl. 39.

either completely or partly painted solid.<sup>9</sup> Given the late date of these pieces, and their inherent morphological and decorative differences from Harvard 1966.87, they cannot be identified as close parallels, much less as prototypes.

Of course, all these East Greek two-handled cups may be termed kantharoi by virtue of the fact that they have vertical handles, and some have rather broad bodies, a feature usually associated with Greek kantharoi of the archaic period. More orthodox versions of kantharoi, with high-swung handles and broader bodies were also produced in the late seventh/early sixth centuries in the East Greek region.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, kantharoi were common during the archaic period throughout the Greek world.<sup>11</sup> I know of only one example of the shape that may be Lydian, and it is distinctly different — not only in details but in its overall conception — to Harvard 1966.87. It was reportedly found in the Burdur region, to the southeast of Lydia proper. It is far broader than our cup, and is equipped with double-reeded handles that rise above the level of the rim; their upper handle attachments are moulded on to the simple lip at the top of a tall rim which tapers towards its junction with the lower body, from which it is sharply offset. Slightly below this offset the bowl of the kantharos reaches its maximum diameter (at the lower handle attachments), then the body tapers very sharply towards a small flaring foot. This kantharos may be Lydian, or from a region further to the east.<sup>12</sup>

When all is considered it is clearly inappropriate to ally the Harvard cup closely with kantharoi despite its superficial links. It is best to term the vessel a kantharoid cup as does the Sackler Museum; 'kantharos' would mask the source of the true origins of its form, and may give rise to an inference of Greek derivation. Parallels in shape occur to the east, at centres in Armenia, in eastern Turkey and in northwestern Iran, and it is with these in mind that the Lydian cup should be considered.

#### THE EASTERN DIMENSION

##### *The evidence of the realia*

The salient features of our kantharoid cup and most of its parallels discussed below are the relatively slender proportions (especially noticeable in the metal examples) of the whole vessel, comprised of a lower body (the bowl) which is offset from the upper body, best

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- 9 *Ibid.* 173 nos. 888–890 fig. 120, pl. 65. For a close one-handed parallel from Samos (late sixth or fifth century): Isler and Kalpaxis 1978, 98 no. 159, pl. 50, Beil. 4. A Chian kantharos, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, found at Panticapæum, is merely a Chian chalice with the usual conical foot on which the horizontal handles have been replaced by highswung vertical handles: Sidorova 1992, 154–155 fig. 10.
- 10 Courbin 1993, 31 and 67 fig. 17, 7, pl. 20, 4 ('Ionian, 640/30–600'). For broader versions from Samos (some with a relatively tall offset rim) which date to the late eighth century and into the seventh: Kopcke 1968, 255 no. 12 fig. 6, pl. 94, 1 (p. 304 for context date); Walter 1957, 40 Beil. 52, 2; Walter and Vierendeel 1959, 13, Beil. 15, 2–6 (Brunner F, c.730–670), 19 Beil. 36, 7 (Brunner G, c.690–680), Beil. 40, 6–7 (c.650); Furtwängler 1980, 208 no. II/3 fig. 16, pl. 49, 2 (c.610). The evidence for kantharoi in East Greece has been collected in Manser 1987, 163–164. For one, among many, representations: CVA GB 15, Castle Ashby 1, pl. 2, 1 and pl. 3, 1 c.540.
- 11 Boardman 1979, 150; Gras 1984, 326–327.
- 12 Greenewalt 1968, 139–144, pl. 1, 1–3; Anlagan *et al.* 1995, 42–43 no. 1. Its lower body is decorated in the marbling technique, while each side of the rim carries a figured scene (for which *cf.* the oinochoe Greenewalt 1968, pl. 3 and the tall-necked jug Dörtük 1977, 13 no. 18 figs. 20–21). For a much earlier, fragmentary, kantharos from Sardis: Ramage 1994, 164, pl. 14.2.1 (context dated to the tenth century).

described as a tall rim. Each example, when complete, would have been equipped with two vertical handles attached at (or just below) the rim and at the mid-body.<sup>13</sup> The metal examples of the type may be further embellished, most notably with zoomorphic handles and relief decoration on their bodies; equally, some of the more humble versions in pottery may lack such features as the distinct articulation between the two parts of their body. Nonetheless, all are clearly based upon the same model. However, despite this basic similarity the members of the corpus may be divided into three groups on the basis of secondary, though highly important, morphological features. These must reflect the different uses to which they were put. The first group (Group 1) comprises vessels closest to our Lydian cup, many of which may be described as drinking vessels, though the larger examples may have served tasks more appropriate to amphorae in a Greek context. The second (Group 2) is characterised by pieces on which one handle is of usual type while the other serves as a spout. The third group (Group 3) consists of examples with a base equipped with two nozzles; the examples of this group may be described as *rhyta*. Not all types are found as often in metal as they are in ceramic. Most pottery examples belong to Group 1, while only two metal examples may be placed with them; there are no known pottery examples that belong in Group 2. I give here lists of all the examples of the types known to me, firstly those in metal, then those in clay.<sup>14</sup> I do not list a number of metal zoomorphic handles which are believed to derive from examples of our basic shape, as they do not contribute directly to the discussion of the form of Harvard 1966.87, and none can be certainly dated earlier than the earliest metal vessels listed here.<sup>15</sup>

## METAL<sup>16</sup>

### Group 1

1. Filippovka Excavations. Gold. Context: 'Early Sarmatian' kurgan burial, fourth-second century. Davis-Kimball 1997, 47 with photograph. See below for possible date.
2. Once London Market. Silver. H. 0.145. 'Fourth-second century'(?). Christie's 1994, no. 124. Ancient?

13 The basic shape equates with Kroll 1976, 144 Typ 83a, Doppelhenkel-Pokal.

14 I do not aim to give full bibliographies for each piece. Some examples, especially ceramic, may have escaped my notice. Haerinck 1980, 53 n. 20 refers to several twinspouted amphorae (our Group 3) in Teheran; Kroll 1976, 144 mentions under his Typ 83a, in addition to some of the pieces listed below, examples (one each?) from Ziwiye, Hotu Cave (University Museum, Pennsylvania), Tepe Sarab (Toronto Museum), Patnos (Van Museum), Ayanis (Van Museum) and Hamadan (28?). Furthermore, it is probable that the 'micaceous buff ware ... goblets with two opposed handles similar to shapes found at Baba Jan II and Nush-i Jan' reported from Jameh Shuran from Assemblage IIB (Levine 1987, 325) are of our basic shape (for the contemporaneity of these vessels with their parallels from Baba Jan II and Nush-i Jan, *ibid.* 238). H. is the abbreviation for height, MPH. for maximum preserved height; all measurements are given in metres. Measurements given in square brackets have been estimated from the published illustrations with the aid of the accompanying scale, therefore they *must* be taken only as *approximations*. If no H. is given then the information is unavailable to me. I give only a description of 29 which is unpublished.

15 E.g. Smirnov 1909, 7, 13 no. 18 pl. 5, Pfrommer 1990, 197 n. 49; Raban 1992, 42\* figs. 13–16. Other forms could also carry zoomorphic handles e.g. Ortiz 1994, no. 153. Note a fifth-century ceramic zoomorphic handle fragment that Stern 1982, 41–42 (with n. 22) fig. 4 compares to 3.

16 The following pieces are not listed as their authenticity has been seriously questioned. All belong to Group 1 except for the first which finds its proper place in Group 2: Ghirshman 1954, 11, pl. 20a, Pfrommer 1990, 192 n. 6; *Sept* 31 no. 159, pl. 51, Muscarella 1977, 184 no. 153; *Sept* 113 no. 674, pl. 52, Muscarella 1977, 184 no. 152; *Sept* 115 no. 684, pl. 55, Muscarella 1977, 179 no. 102; *Trésors* 116 no. 634, pl. 56, Muscarella 1977, 179 no. 103; *Trésors* 116 no. 635, pl. 57, Muscarella 1977, 179 no. 104; Christie's 1977, no. 86, Muscarella 1979, 7 no. 5.

Group 2

3. Glasgow, Museum and Art Gallery, Burrell Collection 33.214. Bronze. H. 0.195. Sixth-fifth century. Peltenburg 1991, 114–116 no. 91 fig. 32. Allegedly found in a hoard at Massyaf, Syria, the latest material of which is dated to the fifth century: Amandry 1959, 44–46, pl. 23, 1–3 (seventh-sixth century); Culican 1965, 248 no. 51 ('probably Median', c.630); Pfrommer 1990, 192 n. 7. Muscarella 1977, 193 raises doubts as to its alleged provenance. Figure 2.
4. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum. Silver. H. 0.16. Fifth century. Amandry 1959, 54–44, pl. 21, 2 and pl. 22, 1; *Sept* 114 no. 677; Muscarella 1980, 30; Pfrommer 1990, 192. n. 10. Allegedly from Iran.
5. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 6137. Silver and gilt. H. 0.27. From Kukova Mogila, Duvanli. Third quarter of the fifth century context. Filow 1934, 46–50 no. 14 figs. 55–59, pl. 3; Amandry 1959, 39–40; Muscarella 1980, 25 fig. 1; Luschey 1983, 321 and 323 no. 2, pl. 59, 2 (beginning of the fifth century); Pfrommer 1990, 193 with n. 13; Archibald 1998, 193 and 327 (first quarter of the fifth century).



Figure 2 (No. 3)

Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, Burrell Collection 33.214. (Courtesy Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery.)

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Note also the identification of a similar piece (*Persian Art* 14, 'Luristan bronze') as a modern pastiche (Calmeyer 1969, 138 C). Also not listed is Mahboubian 1995, 64 no. 16, a piece said to have been found in a cave in the Zagros (*ibid.* 10–11). While discussing this vessel with Dr Moorey the strong possibility that it is also a pastiche was raised; on these grounds it is excluded from further consideration until a detailed publication of its appears. Hoffman in Hornbostel *et al.* 1977, 496 no. 444 offers our basic shape as a parallel for the form of the upper half of a wooden Amphoriskos which he dates to the fifth or fourth century. However, its tall, bottle-like, upper body distances it from the pieces listed in the text.

6. Switzerland, Ortiz Collection. Silver. H. 0.2276. Third quarter of the fifth century. Pfrommer 1990, 193 with n. 14; Ortiz 1994, no. 205. Allegedly from the Black Sea region.
7. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art 76.108. Bronze. H.0.185. Sixth-fifth century. Terrace 1965, 25–26 no. 15; Moorey 1974, 158–159 no. 139; Schmandt-Besserat *et al.* 1978, 77 no. 93. Figure 3.

Group 3

8. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AM.751. H. 027. Late fifth-early fourth century or mid-fourth century. Pfrommer 1990, 191ff, pl. 44; Shefton 1993, 184–185 fig. 13.
9. New York(?), Pomerance Collection. Silver. H. 0.33. First half of the fourth century. *Pomerance* 52 no. 59; Muscarella 1980, 30; Pfrommer 1990, 195, pl. 41, 1. Allegedly found in Iraq.
10. Paris, Private Collection. Silver. H.0.37. Late fourth century. Amandry 1959, 48–50, 52–54 (found between Sinop and Trabzon); Tuchelt 1962, 84 (found in Cappadocia); *Sept* 113 no. 675; Pfrommer 1990, 196, 199–200.
11. Teheran, Archaeological Museum. Silver. H. 0.243. Early Hellenistic. *Sept* 115 no. 683, pl. 56 (sixth century!); Langlotz 1975, pl. 61; Haerinck 1980, fig. 2, 1; Pfrommer 1990, 201. Zervoudaki 1984, 134 n.59 questions if the handles belong.
12. Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 3203. Gold. H.0.28. From Panagurishte. Late fourth-early third century. Amandry 1959, 54–55, pl. 30, 1–3; Simon 1960, 11, pl. 2, 5; Pfrommer 1990, 200–201, pl. 41, 2; Zazoff *et al.* 1985, 602–613 figs. 2 and 4; Archibald 1998, 272 and 327.



Figure 3 (No. 7)  
Brooklyn Art Museum 76.108. (Courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art.)



## POTTERY

## Group 1

13. Yerevan, Armenian Historical Museum. Polished red ware. [H. 0.23.] From Armavir (Argishtihinili)? Ascribed to the eighth century. Martirosyan 1964, 268 fig. 103; Martirosyan 1974, 15 and 51 fig. 18; Khodzhahash 1968, 140, pl. 18, 15; Piotrovsky 1969, 174 no. 63, 212; Khodzhahash *et al.* 1979, 100, pl. 87; Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 32; Tirachian and Koshalenko 1985, pl. 9, 13. Note the following problem regarding the provenance of 13. Piotrovsky 1969, Khodzhahash *et al.* 1979, and Bauer-Manndorff 1984 illustrate the same side of the vessel, which appears to be that illustrated in the drawing Martirosyan 1964. The drawings Martirosyan 1974, 51 fig. 18 and Tirachian and Koshalenko 1985, pl. 9, 13 probably picture the vessel from the other side; Khodzhahash 1968 only gives the (restored) outline of the piece. *If* these two sets of illustrations are of the *same* piece (Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 32 and 34 treats them as separate vessels) the problem is as follows: 13 has been published by Piotrovsky 1969, 212 as coming from Armavir (Argishtihinili) but on p. 175 he discusses it as if it were found at Karmir Blur (Teishebaina), Martirosyan 1974 and Tirachian and Koshalenko 1985, pl. 18, 85 also give Armavir as the findspot; Bauer-Manndorff 1984, 134 repeats the Armavir provenance as does Kroll 1976, 144. Martirosyan 1964, 268 and Khodzhahash 1968, 140 give Karmir Blur as its findspot; Khodzhahash *et al.* 1979, 119 Erebuni. Summers 1993, 88 has also pointed out this discrepancy in the stated provenance of 13; he states that it was found at Erebuni. It is not clear to me if the problem is to be resolved by accepting the existence of two different, but very similar vessels (as does Medvedskaya 1989).
14. Yerevan, Armenian Historical Museum. Ascribed to the eighth century. Piotrovsky 1969, 212 no. 62.
15. Yerevan, Museum of the Yerevan Foundation. From Erebuni. Khodzhahash *et al.* 1979, fig. 81.
16. Yerevan, Armenian Historical Museum, inv. 2164/66b. H. 0.267 From Erebuni. Ascribed to the seventh or sixth century. Khodzhahash 1968, 140 (where it is incorrectly described as belonging to pl. 18, 14), 146, pl. 18, 13; Khodzhahash *et al.* 1979, 100 fig. 82; Santrot *et al.* 1996, 173 no. 174 ('... à engobe rouge et blanc lustré et décor gravé').
17. Yerevan, Armenian Historical Museum. [H. 0.116.] Red-slipped. From Erebuni. Missing one handle. Khodzhahash 1968, 140, 146, pl. 18, 14.
18. Sialk Excavations No. S.1250. Red slipped (red clay). H. 0.28. Ascribed to the late eighth/early seventh century. Ghirshman 1939, 8 no. 1, 210, pl. 4; Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 36.
19. Sialk Excavations No. S.1646. Red slipped (grey clay). H. 0.15. Ascribed to the late eighth/early seventh century. Ghirshman 1939, 8 no. 2, 210, pl. 4; Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 35.
20. Sialk Excavations No. S.1251. Polished red slipped. H. 0.19. Late eighth/early seventh century(?). Ghirshman 1939, 8–9 no. 5, 210, pl. 4.
21. Van Castle Mound Excavations. Buff slipped. H. 0.11. 'Median', second half of the seventh (and into the sixth century?). Tarhan 1994, 41 fig. 17, 3; Sevin 1994, 221–222 fig. 21.3.2. Figure 4.
22. Baba Jan Excavations. Findspot: 'Probably F Grave 3, Pot 3'. 'Porous creamy ware'. H.0.14. Late seventh century(?). Goff 1985, 1–5 and 11 fig. 9, 22 (despite differences in details in this drawing and that of the piece published as Goff Meade 1968, 119, 113 no. 15 fig. 10, the two vessels are probably the same, as they were found in the same part of the site [the East Mound], are of the same height, have similar descriptions, and are both numbered BJ/66/75); Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 39.

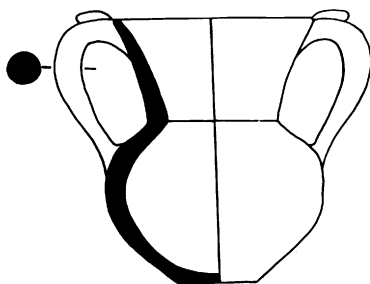


Figure 4 (No. 21)

Van Castle Excavations. (Reproduced with permission of the Editor of *Tel Aviv*.)

23. Baba Jan Excavations. Rim and most of both handles missing. 'Brown-polished Fine Ware'. MPH. 0.16. Late seventh century (?). Goff 1985, 4 and 11 fig. 9, 5.
24. Geoy Tepe A Excavations. Red polished. H. 0.13. Ascribed to the mid seventh century. Burton-Brown 1951, 170 no. 339 fig. 41; Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2, 37.
25. Agrab Tepe Excavations. Buff ware. H. 0.27. Seventh century. Muscarella 1973, 59 fig. 15, 16 (70–73 for date).
26. Bastam Excavations. Fine brown clay, red polished. [H. 0.149.] 'Median', first half of the sixth century. Kroll 1976, 163; Kroll 1979a, 232–234 fig. 2, 12, pl. 58, 2 (also illustrated on pl. 59 with examples of Urartian period pottery from the Hofhaus der Unterburg (UB8), but it is not included in the discussion of that corpus [Kroll 1979b, esp. 210]; the same photograph is reproduced as Kleiss 1977, 50 fig. 40, and bears the caption 'Ostbau, urartäische Keramik', and on p. 19 it is described as a rare Urartian form. Kroll 1988, 165, 171–173 defends its Median date as established in Kroll 1979a; accepted as Median by Summers 1993, 88). Figure 5.
27. Trialeti Excavations. red(?) ware. H. 0.15. 'Early Achaemenid'. Kuftin 1941, 221 no. 6, pl. 15, 6.
28. Sang-e Sir (Hamadan) Excavations. 'Reddish-brown ware. 'Achaemenid (fourth-century)' Handles missing. Azarnoush 1976, 47 fig. 10.
29. Amasya, Archaeological Museum. Unpublished. Provenance unknown. Slight base; vertically-ribbed lower body, tall upper body in the form of a flaring cylinder; ridge at junction of upper and lower bodies. Two vertical handles rise slightly above rim; the surface of each has been scraped into a number of facets. At each upper and lower handle attachment there is a plastic spool. Figure 6.

### Group 3<sup>17</sup>

30. Basaleti, Duscheti (Pschari) Excavations. Red painted. H. 0.23. Fourth century. Miron and Orthmann (eds.) 1995, 307 no. 307 fig. 161.

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17 I do not list here any of the numerous examples that post-date the third century, for which see Haerinck 1980 with: Haerinck 1983, 206 no. 12 fig. 33; Whitcomb 1984, 50–52 fig. 17h; Marazov 1978, 108 fig. 110 and; Aliev and Goshgarli 1994, 264 fig. 3 right-hand column. Note: Haerinck 1980, fig. 6, 2–8 have been dated by some commentators to very broad periods, the beginnings of which may reach as far back as to the fifth or fourth century. Furthermore, I am not certain of the date of the example illustrated as a line drawing in Shishkina 1994, fig. 3; its companion pieces date to the Hellenistic period, and it is not too distant from 30–32.



Figure 5 (No. 26)  
Bastam Excavations. (Reproduced with permission of Gebr. Mann Verlag Berlin.)



Figure 6 (No. 29)  
Amasya Museum. Drawing by A. Hooton.

31. Pasargadae Excavations (from the Tall-i Takht Period II). Buff clay. H. 0.256. Third century (?). Stronach 1978a, 183–184, 259 no. 6 fig. 114, pls. 171–172; Haerinck 1980, 47 fig. 3, 6. Taddei 1994 lowers the terminal date of Period II to c.180, not c.280 as Stronach argues, though Potts 1998 presents evidence that may support Stronach's dating.
32. Kalali-Gir 2 Excavations, Khwarazm. [H. 0.30]. Late fourth-third century? Vainberg 1994, 71, 75–76 fig. 6.

# Fragmentary<sup>18</sup>

33. Tepe Lumbad. Rim and upper handle preserved. Fine, yellowish-light brown clay, polished. Kroll 1976, 90 fig. 37, 1. For the seventh century date of the site: *ibid.* 168.
34. Evoghlu Excavations. Grey ware. Post-Urartian. *Ibid.* 53 fig. 19, 6. A similar rim fragment (handle restored) is illustrated as *ibid.* fig. 19, 7. Fragments such as these that only preserve one handle may come from Kroll 1976, 145 Typ 83b, 'Henkelpokal'.
35. Seqindel Survey. Fine, dark grey clay, roughly polished. [MPH. 0.04.] Upper handle and part of wall preserved. Kleiss and Kroll 1980, 47 no. 15, fig. 6.
36. Seqindel Survey. Finish, dark grey clay, unpolished. [MPH. 0.035.] Upper handle and part of wall preserved. *Ibid.* 47 no. 16, fig. 6.
37. Godin Tepe Excavations. Lower wall and base missing. MPH. 0.26. Period II, seventh century, 'Median'. Young and Levine 1974, 126 no. 20 fig. 45. For date: Muscarella 1973, 72; Muscarella 1988, 208. For the dating of the later subphases of Period II into the Achaemenid period see Boehmer 1996, 32.
38. Tepe Nush-i Jan Excavations. Floor missing. Described as 'brown to reddish-brown ... burnished'. H. 0.215. Period I, c.750–650, 'Median'. Stronach 1969, 20 no. 2 (bottom) fig. 7. For context date: Curtis 1984, 22; Muscarella 1988, 207–208.
39. Gordion Excavations. Base and lower body missing. Described as 'Buff medium-fine, self-slipped with partial burnishing consisting of vertical strokes'. [MPH. 0.16]. Sixth century, 'Late Phrygian'. Henrickson in Voigt *et al.* 1997, 18 figs. 24 and 30.

In both the metal and ceramic categories, and in all the types included therein, there is a plethora of minor variations in the basic shape. However, our major interest at the moment is the relationship between these vessels and Harvard 1966.87, consequently a detailed description of each is beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, it is important to recognise what evidence exists for each of the types, and when they first appear, though the dating of many individual pieces is still seriously problematic. A large number of these vessels lack closely datable contexts, or any context at all; this is especially the case with most of the metal pieces, and so most are dated on stylistic grounds. Furthermore, there are too few examples on which a developmental sequence with a documented rate of change can be based, if indeed a linear development ever existed. Consequently, only broad ranges of date can be suggested for most of the entries.

18 A number of other very small seventh-century fragments (handles and rims) from Baba Jan may come from similar vessels (Goff 1985, 4 fig. 9, 2, 6–7, 12–13), as may a rim and handle fragment from Çavustepe (Erzen 1978, 46 fig. 33, pl. 40c [listed in Kroll 1976, 144?]). I have not been able to find any further details of a piece (rim, handle and shoulder fragment) illustrated by a line drawing in Medvedskaya 1989, fig. 2 no. 33, and dated c. mid fifth-century; its caption reads: 'Yerevan, Moscow Street'.

In metal, Group 1 is represented by two (1–2) relative late (when compared to the ceramic material, see below) examples. **1**, of which a very brief note has appeared, has been identified as an Achaemenid import that was placed in a Sarmatian burial within a period dated no more closely than ‘fourth-second centuries B.C.’. It may be noted that its relatively broad, straight-flaring neck and ovoid body are best paralleled by **3** which is dated — however, not with absolute certainty — to the sixth or, perhaps preferably, the fifth century (*cf.* VIII, early fifth century). **2** surely postdates Harvard 1966.87. Its nearly spherical lower body is unique, as are its serpentine handles (though compare the non-spout handle of **7** and those of **11**). I cannot offer a firm date for this vessel, though I note that among the known products of Attic pottery workshops comparable handles appear on black glaze kantharoi found in contexts dated within the first quarter of the third century.<sup>19</sup> The parallel, however, is not exact as the upper handle attachments (which are not zoomorphic) of these kantharoi are well below the rim, and the lower attachments are at the junction of the upper and lower bodies. Approximations of the handle type also occur on near-contemporary Chian cups.<sup>20</sup> These observations, while possibly instructive, do not secure a date for **2**, as a clear connection between it and these pottery traditions cannot be shown.

Group 2 is comprised of more examples (3–7), the earliest of which need not necessarily date before the fifth century. The study by Pfrommer of these pieces has led him to suggest the existence of a workshop in Anatolia that produced such vessels (**5**, **6**) in the third quarter of that century, and that it continued in operation until the early fourth; Lushey and Archibald date the manufacture of **5** earlier in the fifth century. Pfrommer would also attribute **8**, which he sees as the earliest example of the Group 3 type, to an Anatolian workshop, and dates it to the late fifth or early fourth century.<sup>21</sup> Shefton, however, would prefer to lower its date, on the basis of stylistic features, to the mid-fourth century, at the earliest.<sup>22</sup> **9–12** of the same group are to be dated to the fourth century, or early in the third.

The situation is radically different when we consider the known ceramic pieces. I do not know of any pottery examples that belong to Group 2; the vast majority (**13–29**, and in all likelihood **33–39** too) are to be included in Group 1. Whereas many of the metal examples of the basic shape were allegedly found in areas that once fell within the western reaches of the Achaemenid Empire or adjacent to them, and the existence of a workshop in Anatolia for the manufacture of some Group 2 and 3 metal pieces has been suggested, the vast majority of the examples in clay come from the area of northwestern Iran, Armenia and eastern Turkey. A further difference to be noted is that the Group 1 pottery vessels substantially predate the metal pieces of all Groups, though the few Group 3 examples in clay are approximately contemporary with their metal counterparts.

The clay pieces listed above cover a long chronological range, possibly from the eighth century to the third, and it is not surprising to see differences in their forms, and the manner in which they are decorated. There is a notable range of sizes with the tallest examples (e.g. **18**, **25** and **39**) approaching 30 cm in height; these probably served as amphorae, or even kraters, rather than drinking cups, a function far more suited to vessels such as **21** and **22**. In form they may range from tall slender pieces with well-articulated lower and upper parts (**13**, **22–23**, **26**) or

19 Rotroff 1997, 253 nos. 107 (*c.*300–290?) and 109 (*c.*290–275).

20 Anderson 1954, 149 nos. 168 and 170, pl. 10e.

21 Pfrommer 1990, 193, 205, 208–209.

22 Shefton 1993, 184–185 fig. 13.

body parts that merge into one another (18–19, 37) through to squatter examples (15, 21, 24, 25, 27, 38). 16 and 25 (and to a lesser extent 27 and 38) are large pieces of squat proportions, practically bucket-like. 29 is exceptional in the fine quality of its potting. The lower bodies of most of the pieces are either biconical or roundish in profile (though 20 is ‘sugarish’ while 22, 37 and especially 39 sag), or bulbous (30–32). The last three pieces comprise Group 3, and they all share a characteristically tall and narrow upper body; 31 and 32 have a heavy squared lip which does not facilitate drinking as easily as does the wider, flaring upper body found on the Group 1 clay pieces, all of which are of earlier date than 30–32. Given the flaring line of their rims the fragments 33 and 34 in all likelihood belong in Group 1, as probably do 35 and 36, the upper bodies of which appear to be quite broad. The same arguments hold for the better preserved vessels 37 and 38; their lost bases could feasibly have accommodated nozzles, but it is unlikely, given the details of other parts of their bodies. They too substantially predate 30–32.

The earliest known Group 1 pottery examples (13, 14) come from Armenia; they have been identified as Urartian, and dated to the eighth century. If their dating is secure they stand at the head of a long tradition of red-coloured or red-polished examples of this shape that continued into the sixth century (e.g. 26).<sup>23</sup> However, questions remain concerning their date. Many of the Urartian sites were occupied into the Achaemenid period, and publications of the excavations do not always present information in sufficient detail to distinguish between the various phases.<sup>24</sup> Summers correctly considers 13 to be a close parallel to 26, found in a Median context at Bastam;<sup>25</sup> this, of course, calls into question its Urartian credentials, but does not suffice to dismiss the possibility.<sup>26</sup> Limited supporting evidence for the Urartian pedigree of the basic shape may be offered by two eighth-century vertical bronze handles, one with a small thumb projection, from a burial at Yerevan, that Biscione suggests may well have belonged to two Group 1 vessels.<sup>27</sup> Evidence for the form of their bodies, however, would be most welcome to confirm this identification, especially as similar handles appear on Urartian situlae.<sup>28</sup>

18–20 were originally placed by Ghirshman with finds from the Sialk A Cemetery, which date to the late second millennium, or early in the first. However, the fact that these three pieces match so closely in form the other examples of our basic shape, the first examples of which have been dated at the earliest to the eighth century, leads to some suspicions as to Ghirshman’s dating. Indeed, 18–20 were not found in graves that belong to the Sialk A Cemetery, nor do they bear any great similarities to the pottery that was found in those graves. Given the material presented here it is best to downdate them; Medvedskaya has already dated

23 Mention here must be made of four other red-coloured Group I clay examples found in Armenia, drawings of which have been published in an account of the excavations at Armavir (Martirosyan 1974, fig. 69). *Ibid.* fig. 69 top right is very close to the published photograph of 14, but I cannot certainly state that it represents the same vessel. The other three pieces are distinguished by their strongly trumpet-like upper body which tapers to very constricted junction with the lower body which is biconical in form, slightly squatter but similar to the lower body of 26. All these pieces share with 26 bow-like handles.

24 For such concerns: Summers 1993, 86. For the chronological range of some of the relevant sites: Kroll 1976, 166–170. Zimansky 1995, esp. 107, emphasises the fact that the pottery most often published as characteristically Urartian (red-burnished) forms only a minute part of the total of the pottery finds on Urartian sites.

25 Summers 1993, 88.

26 Kroll 1976, 144 characterises the form as ‘urartäisch-medisch-achämenidisch’.

27 Biscione 1994, 129 fig. 10 nos. 13–14.

28 E.g.: Barnett 1963, 176 figs. 28, 1–3 and 29, 1–2.

**18** and **19** to the late eighth or early seventh century.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, it may be seen that there is still considerable uncertainty as to the dating of some pieces that may stand near the beginning, if not at the very start, of the series.

Most of the other clay Group 1 pieces are light or buff coloured, and they too have been ascribed to the seventh or sixth centuries. The intricacies and possible relationships between the ceramic wares and historical politics of the region known from literary and epigraphical sources during this period are far beyond my field of competence, regardless of the fact that the chronologies of a large number of sites at which relevant pieces have been found are still open to some question or cannot be as well-defined as one would wish.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, it appears that most belong to the Iranian sphere; they may follow on from examples that have been placed in the Urartian period (**13**, **14**).<sup>31</sup> Indeed, it has been suggested that **26** from Bastam and **21** from the Castle Mound at Van belong to a Median series, elements of which date back to earlier traditions of the eighth century.<sup>32</sup> **37** and **38** were found at Godin Tepe and Nush-i Jan respectively, sites that are commonly held to have been in the Median heartland during the seventh century.<sup>33</sup> The excavators of **27** from Trialeti would see it as testifying to the continuation of the Group 1 type into the Early Achaemenid period. Despite the difficult question as to the cultural affinities of **13** and **14**, for our present purposes the point which must be stressed is that the shape was undoubtedly part of the material culture of the Iranian world by the sixth century.

While I am not aware of the exact provenance of **29** the fact that it is now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Amasya suggests that it was found in the region of central north Anatolia. A strong argument for identifying **29** as Anatolian are the spools at its handle attachments. This is a characteristic commonly attested on Phrygian pottery; Sams has argued that the spool-shaped rotelle form that appears on **29** originated c.750.<sup>34</sup> Spools of this type continued to adorn Phrygian, and some Lydian vessels into the sixth century.<sup>35</sup> The vertically-ribbed body of the piece may be compared to that of a number of seventh-century Phrygian

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- 29 This would place them in a period during which Sialk may have been Median (Calmeyer 1987, 566) though see the comments in Muscarella 1994, 58 on the difficulties in the characterisation of Sialk at this period as Median.
- 30 For recent syntheses of the chronological and cultural intricacies of western Iran and neighbouring regions during the Iron Age see Levine 1987, esp. 238–243, Dyson and Muscarella 1989, and now Dyson 1999. Note also the comments in Zimansky 1995, 107 that undecorated brown and buff wares account for 95% of the pottery finds from Urartian sites, and that the occurrence of these wares does not correlate with state boundaries.
- 31 For examples of other areas of Iranian material culture where commentators have identified Urartian influence: Moorey 1979, 225 (glyptics); Medvedskaya 1992, 75 (architecture); Salvini 1995, 150–151 (architecture, with Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 147); Salvini 1995, 151 (rock-cut tombs).
- 32 Kroll 1976, 163 with n. 305; Medvedskaya 1989, 44. For the basic shape and its relationship to an Iranian tradition: Moorey 1985a, 33; Calmeyer 1993, 152–153, 160.
- 33 Kroll 1979a, 233, Medvedskaya 1992, esp. 74–75 and Muscarella 1994, 58.
- 34 Sams 1994, 110 and 181 (Early Phrygian Building V period; date: p. 196). *Ibid.* 109–110 makes important distinctions between various types of additions to handles of which these rotelles are just one.
- 35 E.g.: Muscarella 1971, 57–60 fig. 11. For Lydian examples see nn. 68–70 below. The faceted surfaces of its handles may be related to the horizontal fluting on the bodies of sixth-century vessels found at Gordion (Muscarella 1971, fig. 11; Anderson 1980, 184 no. 22, pls. 36d and 43; included in her Group 2, for date see *ibid.* 153; Mikami and Omura 1991, 88, 99–101 fig. 13, 3; Özkan 1990, 590 figs. 35–36; Henrickson 1994, 112 fig. 10.8a), but also on Lydian lydia: Butler 1922, 150–151 ill. 168, right; Greenewalt 1966, 193 Pitane Grave 3 no. 1, pl. 11 A–C (East Greek or Lydian; p. 198 deposited c.570–565), 199 Pitane Grave 4 no. 1, pl. 13 A–B (p. 201 deposited c.580–570), 202 Pitane Grave 5 no. 1 (p. 203 deposited during the second quarter of the sixth century); Greenewalt *et al.* 1988, 69 figs. 13–14. Metal vessels and ladles from Ikiztepe have handles with similar faceted surfaces to that of **29**: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 75 no. 12, 77–78 nos. 14–15, 81 no. 21, 85–86 nos. 29–31, 120 no. 74.

spouted jugs from Gordion, though only close examination of these vessels will reveal if the ribbing was achieved by the same technique. It can, furthermore, be noted that its faceted handles — similar to those of **21** — are readily paralleled in Achaemenid-period metalware.<sup>36</sup> Of all the examples of the basic shape listed **29** is the closest to our Lydian kantharoid cup. If it too is Anatolian then it is to be placed, geographically speaking, closer to Harvard 1966.87 than any other pottery examples yet encountered. **21** from Van can also be compared closely to **29** and the Lydian kantharoid cup as regards form. Details as to the discovery of **29** would be welcome in any attempt to date it; on the evidence of its two closest parallels — **21** and Harvard 1966.87 — it may be best to generally assign it to the sixth century. It is to be recognised as an Anatolian imitation of an Iranian shape that also reflects some characteristics long-established in the region.<sup>37</sup> The imitation of Iranian shapes at Gordion is attested. Vessels identified by their excavators as local clay imitations of Achaemenid bowls and rhyta have been found at the site in contexts dated to the Persian period.<sup>38</sup> It is not possible to determine if **29** is to be seen as Phrygian or Lydian, as its characteristic Anatolian features — its spools — occur in both these regions during the sixth century. The possibility must be kept in mind that it was not manufactured at either of the two centres about which we are best informed (Gordion and Sardis).

**39** from Gordion, while certainly not a drinking vessel, testifies to the presence of the basic shape in Phrygia, and it has been suggested that it may well be an Iranian import. It differs from most of the catalogued examples in that its handles are strongly vertical, its body is very globular, and it is equipped with an exceptionally flaring rim (for more restrained rims: **15–16**).

Known examples in clay that belong to Group 3 date to a much later period than their Group 1 counterparts; Haerinck places the appearance of the type in the second half of the fifth century.<sup>39</sup> The earliest listed here is **30** and in its brief publication it has been assigned to the fourth century,<sup>40</sup> while **31** and **32** need not necessarily follow far behind.<sup>41</sup>

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- 36 Çinaroglu 1989, 82–83 no. 15, drawing 10, pl. 8, 1, but also compare *ibid.* 83 no. 16, pl. 8, 2, the body of which is more deeply ribbed. For different uses of vertical ribbing see *ibid.* 82 no. 11, drawing 6, pl. 6, 1 and no. 14, drawing 9, pl. 7, 2. Achaemenid-period faceted handles, e.g.: Dalton 1964, 8 no. 7, pl. 7; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 75 no. 12.
- 37 Despite its handle adornments there is nothing to link the kantharoid shape with a purely Phrygian pottery tradition. The closest published, but still distant, Phrygian vessels are large kantharoid kraters (Sams 1994, 78, pl. 110). More light may be thrown on this topic with the full publication of the sixth-century pottery from Gordion.
- 38 Young 1962, 154–155, pl. 41, 1a–b; Sams 1979, 12 fig. 11; Henrickson in Voigt *et al.* 1997. See Sagona *et al.* 1996, 32 fig. 5, 4 and 6 for Sos Höyük.
- 39 Haerinck 1980, 43–45, 52; Haerinck 1978, 77.
- 40 **30** may have links to a painted pottery tradition that stretches back into the Achaemenid period and down to the second century: Haerinck 1978, esp. 79, 84–85.
- 41 The dating of a number of related pieces is obscurer still. A strong case to date any of them earlier than the fourth century has not been made in print. The following two pieces (Muscarella 1969, 24 fig. 31 [which lacks handles] and *Trésors* 120 no. 672 fig. 64 [with, apparently, only a single hole in its base]) have been dated as pre-Achaemenid or Achaemenid. Haerinck 1980, 53 n. 20 refutes this dating; he compares the first with a second-century(?) example from Ashdod (*ibid.* fig. 3, 1). Ishiguro 1976, 104–105 no. 117, a fragmentary piece with lion handles and a vertically ribbed body has been dated to the eighth century. No evidence will support such an early date; its vertically-ribbed body generally parallels some Achaemenid metal pieces, and the Ashdod piece. There is no reason to see it as predating any of the pieces dated on better grounds. Another clay vessel, Sotheby's 1984, 45 no. 117, has a body that bears a series of crude incisions — probably meant to imitate fluting — and handles, the upper attachments of which terminate in debased animal(?) heads. The general shape of this piece with its relatively tall and narrow neck parallels that of the Ishiguro Collection vessel, the two pieces



The above discussion has shown that an examination of the form of Harvard 1966.87 reveals that it has very wide associations indeed. A comprehensive understanding of the shape demands not only an examination of the type of the basic form that may be termed a cup or amphora in its larger manifestation (Group 1), but also of the handle-spout variant (Group 2) and the rhyton variant (Group 3). It has been seen that the earliest examples of the basic shape could possibly date as early as the eighth century, and that by the seventh century the shape appears at sites within the Iranian world. Group 3 examples in pottery are a relatively late development. Known metal examples of the basic form are also late, and need not predate the fifth century, though **3** (1?) and **7** may.<sup>42</sup> From the above evidence it may be seen that Harvard 1966.87 predates (see below for its sixth-century date) all the metal examples of the basic shape with the possible exception of the just mentioned vessels. It is equally apparent that it stands — as far as its form is concerned — in a tradition that originates far to the east of Lydia.<sup>43</sup>

### *The representational evidence*

Other than the *realia* just discussed there are a number of representations of the basic shape that aid in placing the Lydian kantharoid cup in its context:<sup>44</sup>

mentioned immediately prior to it, and the Ashdod example. These considerations may support the view that all these pieces need not date earlier than the late Achaemenid period at the earliest, although until firmer evidence is forthcoming this must simply remain a suggestion. A further example — dark, burnished clay with linear incised decoration and crude animal handles, also with details incised — has been dated, without any supporting evidence, to the eighth century (Ishiguro 1976, 105 fig. 1). Can the form of its handles be compared to examples of Parthian date (see Haerinck 1983, 192)?

- 42 A fifth-century gold jug is also similar in basic form (Dalton 1964, 8 no. 17, pl. 7), as is a glass beaker with a piriform base, partly restored, which has been dated to the second half of the fifth century (Oliver 1970, 14 fig. 11; Schmandt-Besserat *et al.* 1978, 84 no. 103; Goldstein 1980, 50 fig. 10). More distant is a clay piece identified as sixth-century Lydian: Yalouris 1997, 70 fig. 12 right. Close to it is a vessel, with a pierced base, from Panticapaeum dated to the beginning of the third century: Kruglikova 1957, 133 fig. 8, 6. See also a close parallel in bronze from Deve Hüyük dated to the fifth or fourth century: Klengel-Brandt 1990, 137 no. 21, pl. 32b. It may be noted that these piriform, handleless, vessels are very close to Palace Ware beakers of the Assyrian period, the manufacture of which appears to have continued (at least at Ur) into the Achaemenid period: Curtis *et al.* 1989, 48. For Palace Ware beakers: Yassine 1984, 12–13, 66–69 nos. 6–7 figs. 3 and 46; Ohtsu 1991. See also a vessel, found at Tell Kazel, identified by its excavators as an imitation of the form of Neo-Assyrian beakers but with the ‘local proprium’ of two vertical handles — a feature which makes it very close to our basic shape: Gubel *et al.* 1990, 48–49 fig. 26b (dated to the period of Assyrian domination). On handleless examples of the basic shape see further Zervoudaki 1984, 134 n. 65, and the sixth-century silver beakers Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 110–111 nos. 65–66 (from İkiztepe). For a comparison of the general shape with Persian influenced precious plate jugs of the fourth century see Pfrommer 1989, 282.
- 43 A number of eighth- and seventh-century vessels with two vertical handles from Gilan and Tepe Nush-i Jan may be compared to the basic form examined here, but they are far squatter in proportions and their mouths are far wider: Stronach 1978b, 22 nos. 13–14 fig. 7, p. 24 no. 13 fig. 9, pl. 5d; Haerinck 1988, 72–74 fig. 68, 7; Haerinck 1989, 458 fig. 1, 13. And from Hasanlu (IV): Young 1965, 85, fig. 6, 3 and fig. 7, 3.
- 44 I do not include the Sardian funerary relief on which Hanfmann believed a poorly preserved representation of a vessel carried by a banqueter was to be identified as an example of the basic shape (Hanfmann 1974, 290 n. 4, pl. 99); I find Erhart’s argument that an animal-head rhyton was once depicted here more convincing (Hanfmann and Erhart 1981, 85 n. 17, p. 82 and 87 for date). Ramage (1979, 91–95, pl. 18a) has identified an amphora rhyton on another Lydian funerary banquet relief (first half of the fourth century). The surface of the relief is not well-preserved, nor is the outline of the vessel in question. Its very spherical lower body, and apparent lack of handles would suggest that it is to be distanced from our basic shape, although certainty is not to be gained on this point. The clay sealing Legrain 1951, 52 no. 832, pl. 42, depicts a jug, not a pointed amphora: Collon 1996, 74 pl. 20 fig. 10g.

- I. Persepolis, East Stairway of the Apadana, Delegation 6 ('The Lydians'). First attendant carries two Group 2 examples. Schmidt 1953, 85, pl. 29B; Schmidt 1957, 95, pl. 70D; Schmidt 1970, 152–153; Root 1979, 89–95; Muscarella 1980, 27–28; Roaf 1983, 52–53, 118; Calmeyer 1993, 152–153, pl. 44, 1. For the dating of I–III as completed after 486 and before 465 B.C.: Roaf 1983, 138–139. Root 1979, 90–95 and Calmeyer 1989, 53 support the view that the Apadana was planned towards the end of Darius' reign, though it and its reliefs were finished under Xerxes. Such a view is consonant with the dating, on numismatic grounds, of the foundation deposit of the Apadana no later than 505/500 (Kagan 1994, 40–41). Jacobs 1997 offers the most recent discussion on the dating of the Persepolis Apadana, and prefers a somewhat earlier dating. Figure 7.
- II. Persepolis. East Stairway of the Apadana, Delegation 3 ('The Armenians?'). Last attendant carries a Group 2 example. Schmidt 1953, 85, pl. 32B; Schmidt 1957, 95, pl. 70F; Schmidt 1970, 146; Muscarella 1980, 27–28; Roaf 1983, 52, 117; Calmeyer 1993, 153, pl. 43, 2.



Figure 7 (No. I)

Detail, Persepolis Apadana East Stairway, Delegation 6. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

- III. Persepolis. East Stairway of the Apadana, Delegation 1 ('The Medes'). First attendant carries a variant of Group 2. Schmidt 1953, 85, pl. 27B; Schmidt 1957, 95, pl. 70E; Schmidt 1970, 146; Muscarella 1980, 27–28; Roaf 1983, 50–51, 117; Calmeyer 1993, 154, pl. 43, 1.
- IV. Persepolis. Block no. 32 of stairway façade of Artaxerxes I, fragmentary. Only body of vessel and part of one handle preserved. Tilia 1972, 305 fig. 118 (bearer: Median or Armenian); Calmeyer 1993, 153–154 fig. 2 (bearer: Armenian or, more likely, a Sargatian); Root 1979, 108–110. Roaf 1983, 131, 140 and 158 dates the stairway as 'started before and finished after 465 B.C.'.
- V. Persepolis. Taçara, west stairway of Artaxerxes III. Delegation III ('Skudra'). Attendant carries an example of Group 1 or Group 3 type. Tilia 1972, 312; Calmeyer 1993, 152, pl. 46, 1.
- VI. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 2829. Temple of Athena at Assos, frieze slab 4. Symposiast at right holds a Group 1 cup. C.530. Clarke 1898, fig. 51 (blocks incorrectly arranged), 252 fig. 53; Dentzer 1982, 235 fig. 330, p. 576 no. R66. Figure 8.
- VII. Kastamonu, Archaeological Museum No. 438. Funerary relief from Afirözü. On table, to left of the kline, a probable Group 1 vessel. C.500. Donceel-Voûte 1984, figs. 2–4.
- VIII. Karaburun II tomb chamber, mural on main wall. Servant at left carries a Group 1 cup with handles that end in outward-facing griffin heads. Two body parts separated by a set of circles between two pairs of horizontal lines; below lip, an Ionic kymation above a set of circles. Early fifth century. Mellink 1972, 265, pl. 59 fig. 19. Figure 9.
- IX. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2298, Attic red-figure kylix. Side B: the vessel second from the left on the reserved band below the base of a symposium scene probably portrays an example of our basic shape. C.480. ARV 364, 52 (Triptolemos Painter); CVA Berlin 2, pl. 64, 1–2. Figure 10.



Figure 8 (No. VI)

Temple of Athena, Assos, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Etrusques et Romaines MA 2829. (Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre -M. and P. Chuzeville.)



Figure 9 (No. **VIII**)  
Karaburun Tomb II. Detail of mural. (Reproduced with permission of Professor M.J. Mellink.)

The frieze relief from Assos (**VI**) is the earliest of these representations, and as Dentzer correctly saw there is represented on it — in no great detail — a Group 1 vessel.<sup>45</sup> In all probability the vessel on **VII** is to be seen as a further example of the same type, despite the fact that it is portrayed in an even cruder manner. Both these representations show the acceptance in western Anatolia of the basic form of which the Harvard cup is an example. This reception of the shape is most clearly seen in the tomb mural **VIII** at a site in the mountains of inland Lycia. This painting must be discussed in some detail. A servant of a Persian or persianizing grandee, who is shown reclining on a kline, is pictured carrying an example of the Group 1 type in his right hand. Mellink has argued that the white paint which had been added over the basic red and black colours of the vessel was intended to indicate that a goblet of precious metal is shown.<sup>46</sup> However, Pfrommer, Calmeyer and Jacobs have identified it as an

45 Fehr 1971, 116: '... eine Art Pelike'. Finster-Hotz 1984, 65–66 interprets it as a peculiar local shape that differs from its better-known (i.e. Greek) companion drinking vessels. In Bacqué-Grammont (ed.) 1990, 83 it is described as 'un pichet (amphore?)', in Wescoat 1995, 296 as an 'extraordinary drinking vessel'.

46 Mellink 1979, 486; Mellink 1972, 265.



Figure 10 (No. IX)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung 2298. (Courtesy of Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussische Kulturbesitz-Jutta Tietz-Glagow.)

amphora-rhyton; Pfrommer and Jacobs mean by this term that it is a member of our Group 3, while Calmeyer describes pieces with a handle-spout (Group 2) as such. Indeed Pfrommer identifies it as the earliest proof for the existence of the type with nozzles at the base.<sup>47</sup> I believe this identification is to be rejected, and that it should be identified as an example of the Group 1 type. Firstly, VI supplies evidence for the use of the basic shape (granted in the Troad, far from Lycia) as a drinking vessel. There is no doubt that the symposiast who holds it is participating in the same acts as his companions, each of whom holds a different type of drinking vessel.<sup>48</sup> Secondly, Harvard 1966.87 and 29 (if the assumptions on its provenance are correct) show the actual existence of kantharoid cups in western Anatolia. Indeed, the handle type seen on VIII exactly matches that on the Lydian cup, as on both the handles are in the form of a simple bow; it could be argued, furthermore, that the outward volutes on the latter are mere simplifications of details such as the outward-facing griffin heads seen on the cup in VIII. Thirdly, although the base of the vessel in the mural is not visible, there are no overriding

47 Pfrommer, 1990, 194–195 (Rhytonvariante); Jacobs 1987, 35 (where it is also suggested that there may also be a spout on the right handle — I do not see any trace of such on any of the published photographs, nor is a spout mentioned in any of the first-hand accounts of the mural). Calmeyer 1993, 152 n. 43 (with the qualification ‘ohne Ausguß?’).

48 Dentzer 1982, 235 with n. 79.

grounds to argue that the bearer's palm must be hiding any nozzles.<sup>49</sup> **I–III** show examples of Group 2 vessels held in this manner (it is uncertain to which groups **IV** and **V** belong). It cannot be argued that the cradling of vessels of the basic shape in the palm is a sure indication that Group 3 vessels are represented.<sup>50</sup>

Given the fact that the base of the vessel is not visible doubts may remain as to the existence of nozzles, and arguments may be found if not to establish then at least to suggest that a Group 3 vessel is intended. Such arguments need to be addressed. It may be objected that the attendant (a cup-bearer) already holds a drinking vessel,<sup>51</sup> a phiale (along with a ladle) in his left hand, and that the vessel of our basic shape need not necessarily be identified as a cup — it may have served another purpose. If one is predisposed to see the vessel as an example of our Group 3 then it may be remembered that Haerinck tentatively suggested that this variant may have been used, in a ritual setting, by pouring wine into its mouth in order for it to then flow into the drinking vessel(s) proper which would have been held below the nozzles.<sup>52</sup> In such a scenario the vessel would be coupled with the phiale held by the servant, and that already held by his reclining master. Related practices seem to be attested on Attic reliefs that date from the late fifth century and into the fourth, on funerary reliefs from Lycia of similar date, and on one from Sardis dated c.430–420.<sup>53</sup> However, the vessel held by the banqueter in all these instances is an animal-protome rhyton, and not a variant of our basic shape. I do not know of any representations showing a Group 3 vessel actually used in such a manner.

A further argument that may be proposed in order to question if an exact parallel of Harvard 1966.87 is pictured in **VIII** is to note that in representations to the east of East Greece that were executed in periods contemporary with the Greek archaic period reclining banqueters are shown drinking from bowls.<sup>54</sup> Admittedly, the precision with which these vessels are portrayed depends on the general quality of the work itself, so their proportions differ greatly, though it is probably safe to identify some as phialai. There is apparently no desire to show a wide range of drinking vessel types, and this contrasts with numerous contemporary Greek works on which many types of cups are shown (e.g. **VI**). This strong preference for easterners to be pictured with bowls may well indicate their actual practices.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, on these grounds it may be argued that the two-handed vessel on **VIII** may not be a drinking vessel as it is not a bowl. Given, however, traces of other Greek influences in the murals of this tomb,<sup>56</sup> it may be unwise to insist on a strict dichotomy between Greek and eastern practices in this particular work, or in this region. **VIII** may well testify to the amalgamation of different practices; and, more importantly, it must not be forgotten that far to the east of Karaburun the basic shape existed as a drinking vessel in an Iranian context (e.g. **21–22**).

49 As does Pfrommer 1990, 194. Also note that the neck of the vessel is not narrow as are those of the Group 3 pieces, but broad (cf. Harvard 1966.87) as better befits a drinking vessel.

50 Apparently all the vessels carried by figures on Achaemenid reliefs (including those found at Meydançikkale: Davesne 1998, figs. 1–9 and 15) are conventionally cradled in the bearers' palms.

51 Cup-bearer: Fehr 1971, 105; Dentzer 1982, 284; Nollé 1992, 82, 84–85.

52 Haerinck 1980, 43.

53 Attic: Dentzer 1982, 314. Lycian: *ibid.* 549 with n. 231. Sardis: n. 44 above.

54 As an examination of the relevant monuments in Dentzer 1982 shows; see also Miller 1993, 120. For Greco-Persian stelae: Nollé 1992. Exceptions are known, e.g.: Mellink 1980, 93 fig. 4 (Gordion, but the scene is not a reclining banquet).

55 Miller 1993, 113–114; Stronach 1995, 177–179, 187–188.

56 Mellink 1972, 268.

The banquet scene on the, albeit later, Satrap Sarcophagus c.430 from Sidon raises similar problems to those presented by **VIII**. The reclining figure holds a phiale, which is assumed to be a drinking vessel, but his servant simultaneously fills a (drinking?) horn from an oinochoe. We are, again, left with the question, are both the horn and the phiale drinking vessels, or were they used together in a particular fashion, or was one a libation vessel? What is clear is that the horn, for which the reclining figure reaches, is not a rhyton; if it were, the contents of the oinochoe would have flowed through the hole at its base onto the servant.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, one of the symposiasts on the frieze with **VI** holds a cup in one hand, and in the other a phiale which is being filled by the attendant cup-boy. Again the relationship between the phiale and the cup is unclear. Although it is important to keep in mind that these two monuments do not derive from the same region it may be noted that **VI** shows that a figure may be represented with the drinking vessel and a phiale in a multi-figure symposium scene, and the Satrap Sarcophagus shows that the same holds true for representations of isolated banqueters.

Another objection to the identification of the two-handled vessel in **VIII** as a drinking cup may be raised. The fact that the servant also holds a ladle may tempt one to see the three pieces in his hands as a set and to identify them as container, dispenser and drinking cup, i.e. the example of our basic shape, the ladle and the phiale. This line of argument would deny the two-handled vessel a role as a drinking cup in favour of one as an amphora. However, this is hard to maintain as it is not the easiest shape out of which to ladle liquid, and it is debatable (if we take the mural literally in such details) which the ladle the servant holds could actually fit into the vessel.<sup>58</sup>

It is clear that our knowledge of the banqueting practices in the ancient Near East and Greece is not as complete as we would wish it to be, nor do we have a full understanding of the relevant iconographic banqueting types.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, it may be seen that the vessel on the Karaburun mural does not belong to Group 2 as it lacks a handle-spout, nor is there any strong evidence on which to place it in Group 3. It should, therefore, be identified as a cup (or less likely an amphora). If Mellink's identification of it as metal stands, then we see that one of the closest parallels for Harvard 1966.87, though it is of slightly stockier proportions, is a representation of one of plate.

The Persepolis reliefs were largely carved during the first half of the fifth century, with the exception of **V** which is dated to the reign of Artaxerxes III, 359–338.<sup>60</sup> It is quite certain that on **I** and **II** Group 2 vessels are being carried; on the former the base of one is visible and there is no indication whatsoever of any nozzles. An attendant on **III** carries a variant which is also equipped with a basket-like handle. No evidence exists among the *realia* that would

57 Kleemann 1958, 123–125 pls. 1b, 13–14 and 16; Dentzer 1982, 243–245, 567 no. R5, pl. 30 fig. 184. Wescoat 1995, 297 also notes that a libation may be represented here.

58 Gunter and Root 1998, 26 see it as a container. For three-piece characterisation: Moorey 1980, 183–184. Though note that ladles of the period are small (Moorey 1980, 194: dipper ladles) and characteristically have bowls with a diameter of about 5 or 6 cm, e.g.: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 83–86 nos. 24–32; *Sindos* 147 no. 237. Moorey 1980, 187 notes that the most complete drinking set of this period includes 'blending and drinking bowls'. See Waldbaum 1983 for a ladle found with a shallow spouted bowl (both silver) in a sarcophagus of a Sardis burial (McLauchlin 1985, 248–249: fifth-century) — not an 'ideal' three-piece set, which is a very rare occurrence in excavated burials throughout the Achaemenid empire. At the Lydian burial at Gökeler the tomb goods only included two silver Achaemenid bowls and a silver ladle: Özkan 1991, 131–133 nos. 1–3 figs. 1–4.

59 I thank Dr S. Ebbinghaus for discussing the problems of this topic with me. For an interpretation of the Karaburun II mural: Gunter and Root 1998, 26–27.

60 Roaf 1983, 138–141, 157. Tilia 1972, 302 suggests that the earliest may date to the very end of the sixth century.

suggest that handle-spouted versions of the shape would have nozzles at their base as well, so the fact that we cannot see the base of each of the vessels in these three representations is not a hindrance to their identification. The same cannot be said of that on **V**, which can either be identified as belonging to Group 1 or 3, as its base is completely hidden by its bearer's palm. It could just be possible that a Group 3 vessel is meant as its narrow neck parallels that of **8** and **30–32**. The firm identification of the fragmentarily preserved representation on **IV** must also remain open.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, these Achaemenid reliefs only carry certain representation of Group 2 vessels. None, on the basis of their scale alone, can be described as cups.

Finally **IX**: other than **VI** this is the only representation from the Greek sphere that I know of that may show a vessel of our basic shape. Among a highly unusual array of Greek symposium vessels, all in silhouette, there is included a drinking vessel very close in form to Harvard 1966.87, though considerably squatter in its proportions. Its bowl is higher and broader, while its neck is also broader, but shorter; it is equipped with bow-like handles the upper terminals of which are in the form of outturned hooks (not dissimilar to the volutes on Harvard 1966.87), while their lower handle attachments have projecting tabs.<sup>62</sup> Although specific details are not rendered it can be said with some certainty that an Attic vase-painter may well have represented a prototype not too different from our cup in just such a manner. Of course, if a metallic or ceramic prototype is meant is not divulged by the actual portrayal, though the fine extended handle terminals may be more appropriate to metal vases,<sup>63</sup> whereas ceramic pieces may more naturally have such details as the outward-projecting tight volutes as on Harvard 1966.87 where the weight of the clay can be more successfully supported. There is no indication whatsoever that may lead to the suspicion that a Group 2 or 3 vessel is pictured on this kylix. The most that can be said of this representation is that it testifies to the adoption — albeit limited — of this Iranian-derived shape into the repertoire of an Attic red-figure vase-painter, and this may well just reflect actual sympotic practice,<sup>64</sup> at least in the limited circle which appreciated such novel vessels. It may be noted, however, that the pictured symposiasts actually hold normal Attic drinking cups and a phiale; all the exotica is confined to the band at the base of the scene.

### Discussion

As the form of Harvard 1966.87 is foreign to the Lydian pottery tradition, as it is presently known, it must be considered as a possibility that its origins lie elsewhere. It has been shown that at least by the seventh century the shape, as a cup and amphora, was part of the

61 In the drawing published by Calmeyer the root of the right handle is not shown at the point of the vessel wall (which is preserved) where it should be. This alone is not grounds for identifying it as a jug since the drawing is not taken from the block itself.

62 Gericke 1970, 10: 'ein skyphosartiges Gefäß'. Guy 1981, 10 refers to two pictured kantharoi on the reserved band; other than the stemmed kantharos on Side B the only other vessel pictured that could possibly be described so is this cup. Note that most vessels depicted on other vessels with a similar frieze are readily paralleled by examples in the Attic corpus, e.g. CVA BM9, pl. 80 no. 56.

63 As also suggested by Kaeser 1990, 266.

64 Miller (1993, 113 and 140, and 1997, 152) correctly writes that the amphora rhyton does not appear in the Greek repertoire as it did not have a role to play in the symposium. **VI** and **IX**, show that the basic shape — as a drinking vessel — could be conceived as gracing at least some Greek symposia. Stern (1999, 24–25) has recently suggested that a 'hyalinon argyroun kolion' referred to in the Parthenon Treasure Lists of 403/2 and 399/98 may be a vessel of this type.



Iranian ceramic tradition, and it is from that source that the vessel type must have moved westwards. Only later, on present evidence, were the Group 2 and Group 3 variants introduced. In western Anatolia **VI** and **VII** testify to the acceptance of variants of the basic type at least from the latter part of the third quarter of the sixth century, to the south of the findspots of these reliefs **VIII**, of the early fifth century, reveals in what context the shape may have been introduced. It is generally accepted that Karaburun II was the tomb of a Persian or persianizing local lord, and various analyses of the tomb murals have closely examined their Persian elements.<sup>65</sup> The introduction of the shape may well be a result of the Persian conquest of western Anatolia. However, Iranian influences may also have been felt even earlier in regions to the west of the Halys, the river which is believed to have been the border between the Lydian-held lands and those under Median domination, during the first half of the sixth century (Hdt. I.6; I.75; I.103). To the east, **21** from Van was found in a post-Urartian context, and its excavators have claimed for it a Median pedigree. **39** may actually be an Iranian import to Gordion. **29**, which feasibly was manufactured to the west of Van remains true to its Iranian origins but takes on some local — Phrygian-derived — features.

Harvard 1966.87 must be seen in a similar light. It testifies to the meeting of local and eastern elements in a Lydian pottery workshop. The dating of the Lydian pottery sequence is not as developed as yet to allow a more certain date than the sixth century to be ascribed to the piece. Theoretically it would be unwise to state categorically that it could not date to the first half of the century on the grounds that the shape would not have been introduced into the Lydian repertoire before Croesus' fall, as the mechanics of craft transmission need not necessarily follow such dramatic geopolitical developments.<sup>66</sup> The fact, though, that representations of similar pieces in western Anatolia date to c.530, 500 and the early fifth century, definitely make a date in the second half of the century for Harvard 1966.87 preferable.<sup>67</sup>

While our kantharoid cup stands alone in the Lydian repertoire, it is not the only example in the Lydian pottery corpus known from the Sardis area that is a local adaption of an eastern type. It has been suggested that the mesomphalos phiale falls into this category.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, a bowl with rotelles,<sup>69</sup> a dish with spools and vertical bolsters,<sup>70</sup> a stemmed dish with spools,<sup>71</sup> and a cup with a strainer spout and a high-swung handle set at 90° to it,<sup>72</sup> all bear

65 Mellink 1972; Mellink 1979; Dentzer 1982, 227–230, 571 no. R34; Jacobs, 1987, 30–40; Nollé 1992, 82–87.

66 For the impact of Persian vessel forms on the Attic potters prior to the Persian Wars see Miller 1993, 113, 121, 137 and 140 (and now Miller 1997, 141 and 146), where it is stressed that prototypes may have reached Attica by other means than the Persian army, e.g. diplomatic gifts.

67 Importantly Dusinger 1997, 56 and 60 has now noted that there is an increase of vessels with a 'fired red' surface from Sardis contexts dated after the Persian conquest.

68 Hanfmann 1983, 79. For the eastern derivation of various East Greek pottery forms: Boardman 1967, 129, 130 and 169; Kopcke 1968, 262–263 no. 36 fig. 12, pl. 100, 1–2; Isler 1977, 19–23, pl. 1, 3–4; Dentzer 1982, 143–144; Miller 1991, 66 and 1993, 125. For a comprehensive study of the impact of Iranian forms on the Attic pottery repertoire see Miller 1993 and Miller 1997 esp. 135–152.

69 Knudsen 1964; Greenewalt 1972, 122–123 no. 11, pl. 8, 1–3 (context date: c.570–540); Muscarella 1988, 184. For a sixth-century bronze example from the Basmacı tumulus: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 235 no. 225 (p. 64 for probable date of burial). For late eighth-early seventh-century examples: Young *et al.* 1981, 125–130 pls. 65–67 (Gordion); Akkaya 1991, 25 no. 3, pl. II fig. 5 (Kaynarca, Cappadocia); Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 32, 181 no. 40 (Bayındır, Elmalı).

70 Butler 1922, 119 ill. 126; Muscarella 1971, 60 fig. 12. Context date: McLauchlin 1985, 221–223 (c.625–550).

71 Oliver 1968; McLauchlin 1985, 225. Date: as n. 69.

72 Butler 1922, 119–121 ill. 126; Muscarella 1967, pl. 20, 102; Oliver 1968. Context: McLauchlin 1985, Tomb CC 9, c.550. For a Phrygian prototype see Muscarella 1971, fig. 11.

features that derive from the Phrygian sphere and which continued well into the sixth century. The feeder mentioned above may also fall into this category.<sup>73</sup> Indeed Muscarella has argued for the adoption of Phrygian forms and motifs by sixth-century Lydian craftsmen in a number of different media.<sup>74</sup> The close connections noted in a number of areas of Lydian and Phrygian material culture continued once both regions were part of the Achaemenid empire.<sup>75</sup> The Lydian Treasure and related pieces found in the environs of Uşak — on the border between the lands of Lydia and Phrygia — highlight the introduction of what Root terms the ‘canonical Persepolis court style’ into both regions.<sup>76</sup>

A concise definition of what Lydian material culture of the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries consists of has exercised the minds of researchers for at least three generations. It has been a commonplace to note its derivative nature, and to apportion the origins of particular features either to the lands east of Lydia or to those to the west. Conversely, the Lydian contribution to Greek culture has often been highlighted.<sup>77</sup> Our kantharoid cup is to be added to the body of evidence that testifies to the adoption of forms and styles from varying origins. Its East-Greek-derived decorative scheme is paralleled by the Lydian adoption and naturalization of other Greek characteristics in their ceramics during the seventh and sixth centuries, and more widely in their material culture.<sup>78</sup> During this period Lydian affairs and those of its neighbouring East Greek *poleis* were intermingled;<sup>79</sup> Harvard 1966.87 and other products of Lydian pottery workshops testify to this intermingling on a rather mundane level.

The other element of the inspiration of the kantharoid cup is that which originates from the east. Its actual form is attributable to an Iranian tradition, which in turn may have adopted it from Urartian pottery, though securer evidence would be welcome to clarify this link. No evidence exists to suggest that the form of Harvard 1966.87 was introduced in the area of Lydia during the period in which Urartu was an independent state, though it must be admitted that our knowledge of the pottery used in Lydia during that period is extremely limited. This is not to underestimate, however, Lydia’s contacts with Near Eastern polities which preceded the Achaemenid Empire, although the evidence shows that Lydia was closer to the Aegean world. Such eastern contacts have been held responsible for diverse features of Lydian culture that

73 See n. 4 above; Muscarella 1971, 60 with the comments of Greenewalt 1972, 132 n. 25. Possible prototype from Gordion: Young *et al.* 1981, 113–114 MM15 fig. 73, pl. 59F; for the seventh-century dating of Tumulus MM: *ibid.* 269–272; for a dating of the burials in this tumulus to c.720–700 see Muscarella 1982, 8–9. The bronze vessel MM15 has a different body form from the feeder, and its spout is radically different in form, which suggests a difference in function.

74 Muscarella 1971, 57–60. A round-mouthed jug with a high-swung handle (Oliver 1968, 199; Butler 1922, 121) from a Sardian tomb (context dated c.550: McLauchlin 1985, 223–225 Tomb CC 9) may echo of round-mouthed Phrygian jugs of the sixth century (Anderson 1980, 184 no. 22, pls. 36d and 43, p. 153 for date). For the Lydian occupation of Phrygia and Lydian finds at Gordion: Sams 1979; DeVries 1988; DeVries 1990, 392.

75 Glendinning 1995.

76 Root 1991, 10; see further n. 88 below. For the Treasure: Özgen and Öztürk 1996.

77 Music: Boardman and Kurtz 1986, 47–70; West 1992, 71, 331–333. Furniture: Moorey 1980 and Boardman 1990, 129–130. For Lydian patronage of Greek sanctuaries: Hdt.I.14, I.21, I.25, I.92; *cf.* Muss 1994, 94 (Ephesus). Note also the studies of Kurke 1992, esp. 92–97 and Morris 1996, 31–36.

78 Generally: Greenewalt 1978b, 37–38. Pottery: Greenewalt 1966. Architectural terracottas: Billot 1980, esp. 292–294; Winter 1993, 31; Hostetter 1994, 10 and 76; Ratté 1994b, esp. 388–389. Sculpture: Ratté 1989, esp. 381; Ratté 1994a, esp. 600–607.

79 Balcer 1984, 39–92; Georges 1994, 16–18 and esp. 260 n. 83 for his view of ‘... easy and intimate personal relations between contemporary Greeks and Lydians within a common culture’ (note though Morris 1996, 31–36); Muss 1994, 24–30, 41, 93–94.

range from the construction of a king-list to the adoption of the parasol.<sup>80</sup> Given the Iranian pedigree of the basic shape category to which Harvard 1966.87 belongs it could be argued that the type may have infiltrated into Lydia before the defeat of Croesus, since Lydia, at least from the time of Alyattes, who fought and then reached a truce with Cyaxares in 585 (Hdt. I.74; Pliny II.53), was in contact with the Medes.<sup>81</sup> It is, however, in the Achaemenid period that we have the greatest evidence for the introduction and adoption of Iranian features in western Anatolia.<sup>82</sup>

Various elements of the material culture of western Anatolia that date from the mid-sixth century onwards have been attributed to the activities of Persian satraps, their officials and Iranian settlers, or to the influence exerted by them. Most recently, late fifth- or early fourth-century reliefs in a style closely comparable to that used in the Persian heartland on royal buildings have been found at Meydançikkale in Cilicia Tracheia. It has been suggested that they once decorated the residence of a local ruler.<sup>83</sup> More numerous, and of more direct relevance to our kantharoid cup, are the 'Greco-Persian' stelae and a number of possible architectural fragments which have been found at sites that fall within regions which would have belonged to the satrapies centred on Dascyleum and Sardis.<sup>84</sup> All these pieces bear reliefs either picturing funerary scenes or aspects of the life of the more well-to-do inhabitants of the regions, such as hunting and dining (as on VII). Numerous Iranian elements are evident in these reliefs, ranging from details of dress, through the depiction of religious rites to specific features of the architectural elements pictured. The reliefs have been dated from the late sixth/beginning of the fifth century down to the mid-fourth.<sup>85</sup>

In her comprehensive study Nollé generally concludes that these reliefs picture elements of a local lifestyle which reflected aspects of a courtly, Achaemenid, one.<sup>86</sup> The names preserved in Aramaic inscriptions on some of the 'Greco-Persian' reliefs indicate that some, at least, of these monuments were erected for non-Iranians in Achaemenid service, while literary and epigraphic evidence highlights the presence of Iranians in not inconsiderable numbers in the satrapies of western Anatolia.<sup>87</sup>

80 King-list: Burkert 1995, 145. Parasol: Miller 1992, 94–95. For other suggested instances of Near Eastern impact on Lydia: Hanfmann 1983, 75 and 98, though with the recognition that influence from the Greek world is far more apparent. Ratté 1993, 6 suggests that the Lydian rulers used stoneworking techniques developed immediately to their west in order to build on a scale which would set them on a comparable level with Near Eastern rulers.

81 See Summers 1997 for the identification of the short-lived fortified settlement on Kerkenes Dag in central Anatolia as the Median centre of Pteria. Summers 1996, 28 for an ivory plaque tentatively identified as a Lydian import. On Herodotus I.74: Huxley 1997–98.

82 For examples of Lydian, and other western Anatolian, contributions to the material culture of Iran, e.g.: Nylander 1975 (with Nylander 1983); Stronach 1990, 176. For the Lydian impact on the early stages Achaemenid minting: Alram 1993, 24.

83 Davesne 1998.

84 Recently discussed under the term 'Anatolo-Persian': Polat 1994.

85 Nollé 1992; von Gall 1981/83; Radt 1983; Durungönül 1994; and Polat 1994. Other examples of suggested instances of Persian impact on the arts of western Anatolia include: Calmeyer 1992, figs. 1–3, 7–9 (funerary paintings); Akurgal 1986, 9–14, Cahn and Gerin 1988, 20, Greenewalt 1971, 38–45 (Iranian dress); Akurgal 1996, 133–137 (architecture); Muss 1994, 87 fig. 101 (Ephesian relief sculpture); von Gall 1966, esp. 21–29, pl. 2, 2 (façade reliefs of Paphlagonian rock-cut tomb).

86 Nollé 1992, 87–88, 129.

87 Aramaic inscriptions: Sekunda 1988, 83–84; Nollé 1992, 119. For the settling of Iranians in western Anatolia: Sekunda 1985a; Sekunda 1985b; Tuplin 1987, 190–191; Sekunda 1988. Sekunda 1985a, 9, 14 and 27 makes the distinction between noble settlement and Achaemenid colonists. Tuplin 1987 also writes of 'substantial Iranian settlement', including 'humble' Iranians.

Further evidence points to the impact of Persian material culture on the upper echelons of Sardian society. Foremost among this is the 'Pyramid Tomb' which, it has been suggested, is a 'persianizing' construction, though the only one known from a Sardis cemetery.<sup>88</sup> The 'Lydian Treasure' found to the east of Sardis, in the Uşak/Ikiztepe area, also clearly shows the introduction of the court-derived repertoire (discussed by commentators under the rubric 'Persepolis Court Style' or 'International Achaemenid Style') of toreutics to regions that were once close to the centre of the Lydian Empire. Indeed, Melikian-Chirvani, most recently, has suggested that some pieces of that collection, and others associated with them, were made locally in Lydia along the lines of models that were brought to the area by Achaemenid officials or presented to non-Iranians of the region.<sup>89</sup> The pyramidal stamp seals which are believed to have been cut in Lydia clearly demonstrate the amalgamation of Persian themes and styles with those that existed in western Anatolia before their advent. The fact that a number carry Lydian inscriptions naming their owners (one of whom bore a Persian name) underlines this point.<sup>90</sup> Metalwork from the area of Sardis has been interpreted either as products of western Anatolian workshops that incorporated features derived from Iran or imports.<sup>91</sup> All these objects reflected the prestige of their owners and commissioners.

While this list is impressive and is highly likely to grow with the addition of new finds, it appears that Hanfmann's view that Persian influence on Lydian material culture was sporadic in relation to the cultural pattern established in the area before 547 still largely holds, but can bear some re-examination.<sup>92</sup> What we know of the material remains of Achaemenid Lydia does not indicate that there was a thorough-going adoption of elements derived from the Iranian world, but recent research has shown that some areas were affected more deeply.

Greenewalt has focused Hanfmann's observation by pointing out that the main field of Achaemenid impact was in that of the sumptuary arts, in which he includes precious plate and jewellery.<sup>93</sup> Of course, the envisaged metal prototype of Harvard 1966.87 belongs precisely to

88 Ratté 1992, esp. 160; Kleiss 1996. For the view that the Taş Kule tomb (second half of the sixth/early fifth century) near Phocaea too is 'persianizing': Cahill 1988, esp. 499–500.

89 Melikian-Chirvani 1993, esp. 122–123. Moorey 1988, 237 'West Anatolian Achaemenid'. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970, 320 express the view that regal Persian plate was imitated for local Anatolian grandees. Roaf 1974, 125 n. 161 while commenting on I notes that the Lydians carry '... a typical piece of Achaemenid court metalwork which might have been produced and used almost anywhere in the Persian Empire'. See also: Mierse 1983, 105; Hanfmann 1978, 31–32; Greenewalt 1995, 135. For gift-giving in the Achaemenid empire: Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989, 131–135.

90 Boardman 1970, 20–21; Boardman 1998, 2–3; Root 1998, esp. 264. For Boardman's conclusion of 'more thoroughly Persian' seal engraving practices in Lydia than in other western areas of the empire: Boardman 1970, 39. See also the sealings (some executed by cylinder seals) from the satrapal centre north of Sardis, Dascyleum, a number of which bear Aramaic inscriptions (Balkan 1959, 128; Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu 1990, 19, 26 no. 5, pl. 6), and those with cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian (Balkan 1959, 123–127). Some, at least, of these stones are believed to have been manufactured locally, and testify to practices also known at Achaemenid administrative centres east of western Anatolia. Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu 1990, 24–25 interestingly points out, however, that distinctive features appear in the cutting of some of the stones believed to be local. Sealings in the Court Style were found side-by-side with examples of western Anatolian styles; no centrally-determined style was enforced.

91 Oliver 1971, esp. 120. Waldbaum 1983, 146, 148 no. 974, 151 nos. 994–996. pls. 57–58. For the importance of Sardis as a jewellery-making centre of the early Achaemenid Empire see McKeon 1973, 115–116.

92 Hanfmann 1978, 28–29.

93 Greenewalt 1995, 134–135 (pp. 133–134 for a discussion on the survival of Lydian tomb types, language and script into the Persian period), see also Balcer 1984, 59. For the apparent adoption by Lydian of Old Persian terms, such as that for vassalage, see Balcer 1995, 79; this surely is a function of Achaemenid political control.

this sphere; the existence of this piece may testify to a trickle-down effect, in which the type was imitated in the less valuable material of clay.<sup>94</sup> It could conceivably be argued that the prototype was ceramic and not metal, as eastern clay examples exist. However, one may note Mellink's argument that on **VIII** the vessel represents one of plate, and that the scrolls on Harvard 1966.87 may reflect details such as the griffin heads on that vessel. A metal prototype is to be preferred, even though none of the known metal examples listed here certainly predates our kantharoid cup.

The category of sumptuary arts is exactly that to which the items portrayed on the royal reliefs at Persepolis belong, and they played an integral role in the construction of the imagery through which the Persian kings chose to project the Achaemenid court.<sup>95</sup> As such they, including the prototype of the kantharoid cup, were prestige objects which could radiate some of the authority of the Great King's court. Items that fell into this category may have held particular value for Briant's ruling Persian 'ethno-classe',<sup>96</sup> members of which were to be found throughout the Empire. These Persians and persianizing locals may have sought examples of the sumptuary arts as a means of indicating their origins, their links to the throne, and their social position vis-à-vis local populations.<sup>97</sup> Harvard 1966.87 may indicate that these, or other desirable, associations inherent in its form, may also have been coveted by some Lydians who could not afford to equip themselves with drinking vessels of precious plate or did not have access to the circles in which they were obtainable. In other words, a degree of the social status that authentic 'sumptuary arts' could convey may have been aimed at by individuals who could only imitate the practices of their betters through the medium of clay. Harvard 1966.87, albeit an isolated example, testifies to the fact that examples of Achaemenid sumptuary arts could have an impact beyond workshops producing luxury items. This has very recently been demonstrated by E. Dusinberre in her study of the career in clay of the Achaemenid bowl at Sardis.<sup>98</sup> How this impact is to be gauged with regard to the wider Lydian pottery producing tradition post-547/6 may become clearer with the fuller publication of the sixth-century and later pottery from Sardis.

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94 See the comments of Moorey 1985b, 860–861; and also Miller 1993, 117–118 for her definition of 'imitation' which refers to objects the models of which 'were presumably prestige items of limited supply', and now Miller 1997, 92. This trickle-down effect may also be evident at Sardis in the manufacture of Achaemenid bowls (Ratté 1992, 154) which are also seen elsewhere as fossil types of the Achaemenid period, e.g. at Tamassus: Buchholz 1987, 220–221 fig. 49 and 222–224 fig. 53a–h; Gordion (see n. 38); Wuttman *et al.* 1996, 417 Groupe 1 (Ayn Manawir).

95 Root 1979.

96 Briant 1996, 345, 363–366, 498.

97 For such considerations as they relate to western Anatolia: Gunter 1995, 27–30 and 61.

98 Dusinberre 1999, esp. 92–94 (pp. 94–96 for changes in other pottery categories: coarse wares and some table wares).

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# ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AnIA3</i>	Çilingiroğlu, A. and French, D.H. (eds.), <i>Anatolian Iron Ages 3. The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6–12 August 1990</i> , Ankara 1994.
<i>Ateliers</i>	Courtils, J. des and Moretti, J.-C. (eds.), <i>Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.</i> (Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23–25 mai 1991 ( <i>Varia Anatolica III</i> )), Paris, 1993.
<i>BAI</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
<i>Centres</i>	Curtis, J. (ed.), <i>Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c.1000–539 B.C.</i> , London, 1988.
<i>Empire</i>	Schmandt-Besserat, D. (ed.), <i>Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire</i> , Malibu, 1980.
<i>Hanfmann</i>	Mitten, D.G. et al. (eds.), <i>Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann</i> , Mainz, 1971.
<i>Iranica</i>	de Meyer, L. and Haerinck, E. (eds.), <i>Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe I</i> , Ghent, 1989.
<i>Persian Art</i>	<i>Persian Art. An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London, 1931</i> , London, 1931.
<i>Pomerance</i>	<i>The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art. The Brooklyn Museum, June 14 to October 2, 1966</i> , New York.
<i>Sardis</i>	Hanfmann, G.M.A. et al. (eds.), <i>Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1983.
<i>Sept</i>	<i>Sept mille ans d'art en Iran. Petit Palais, octobre 1961–janvier 1962</i> , Paris, 1961.
<i>Sindos</i>	Σίνδος. Κατάλογος της Εκθέσης. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης.
<i>Trésors</i>	<i>Trésors de l'ancien Iran. Musée Rath, Genève. 8 juin–25 septembre 1966</i> , Geneva, 1966.
<i>Xth Congr.</i>	Akurgal, E. (ed.), <i>The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology I</i> , Ankara 1978.

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